

DR. MUHAMMAD AZIZ AHMED

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*Iqbal* 71

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*and the*

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*Recent Exposition*

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*of Islamic*

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*Political Thought*

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KASHMIRI BAZAR • LAHORE (Pakistan)

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IQBAL AND THE RECENT  
EXPOSITION OF ISLAMIC  
POLITICAL THOUGHT





# IQBAL AND THE RECENT EXPOSITION OF ISLAMIC POLITICAL THOUGHT

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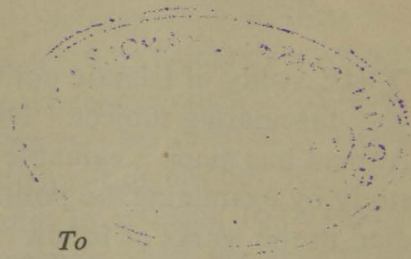
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To

His Excellency

SARDAR ABDUR RAB NISHTAR

*Governor of Punjab*

who

*has been keenly interested in the study of  
Muslim political thought and movement  
this work is respectfully dedicated.*

## FOREWORD

THE study of Islamic political philosophy is a fascinating subject. Dr. Muḥammad 'Azīz Aḥmad has made a valuable contribution to this study by examining the political concepts embodied in the works of Iqbāl. The Holy Qur'ān is not merely a book dealing with orthodox and formal theology, but it also contains the fundamental principles which should govern a Muslim State. The Holy Qur'ān and the Sunna are the primary sources of Muslim Law as well as Muslim political philosophy. It has been said by some writers that Islam is a petrified religion and has no future. In this connection, I would like to quote the opinion of Professor Gibb of the Oxford University from his book *Modern Trends in Islam* :

Islam is a living and vital religion, appealing to the hearts, minds and consciences of tens and hundreds of millions, setting them a standard by which to live honest, sober and God-fearing lives. It is not Islam that is petrified, but its orthodox formulations, its systematic theology, its social apologetic. It is here that the dislocation



lies, that the dissatisfaction is felt among a large proportion of its educated and intelligent adherents, and that the danger for its future is most evident. No religion can ultimately resist disintegration if there is a perpetual gulf between its demands upon the will and its appeal to the intellect of its followers. That for the vast majority of Muslims the problem of dislocation has not yet arisen justifies the *ulema* in refusing to be rushed into the hasty measures which the modernists prescribe ; but the spread of modernism is a warning that re-formulation cannot be indefinitely shelved.

Iqbāl in his lectures on the *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* has made an earnest effort for the re-formulation of Islamic principles. He attaches great importance to *Ijtehād* or research. He is convinced that the republican form of government is consistent with the Spirit of Islam, and that a legislative assembly is the only method whereby "Ijmā'" can be given practical effect in modern time. If we truly appreciate Iqbāl's teachings, we will have to apply the historical method of interpretation to the Holy Qur'ān and the Sunna. Wherever the Holy Qur'ān and the Sunna are silent, *Ijmā'* and *Ijtehād* should be

resorted to in order to evolve a complete political code for a Muslim State.

Students of political science in our Universities know a good deal about the works of European political writers from Plato to Harold Laski. Very little attention has, however, been paid to the works and teachings of Muslim thinkers, such as, Al-Ghazālī, Sheikh Muḥammad ‘Abdūh, Jamāluddīn al-Afghānī and Iqbāl. We, in Pakistan, are specially interested in the works of Iqbāl—our National poet and philosopher—and any book dealing with his teachings is of the utmost interest to students of political science in this country. I have no doubt that this book of Dr. Muḥammad ‘Azīz Aḥmad will serve a useful purpose in stimulating interest and research in the works and teachings of Muslim thinkers.

ABDUL RASHID

Lahore

April, 1950

# I

## IQBĀL'S POLITICAL THEORY

**I**QBĀL as a leading exponent of Islamic thought and institutions believed in a progressive spiritual universe and spiritual beings with their distinct individualities realising their destiny by mastering their environment under a universal structure founded on divine law and organization—all organically related to one another.

Iqbāl sets forth a philosophy of life regarding man's vision of himself, his God and the world that surrounds him. "The Qur'ān," he says, "awakens in man the higher consciousness of his manifold relations with God and the universe." The ultimate character of Reality is spiritual, and religion seeks a closer contact with reality. The ultimate Reality is a "rationally directed creative life," and an ego is a "rationally directed creative will." God is an Ultimate Ego and a unique Individual. The individuality of the Ultimate Ego is emphasised in the Qur'ān by the name of Allah. The Islamic conception of God signifies many important elements such as "Creativeness, Knowledge, Omnipotence and Eternity."



Reality, according to Iqbāl, is spirit, but there are degrees of spirit. The ultimate Reality is the Ultimate Ego, from which egos proceed. "The creative energy of the Ultimate Ego, in whom deed and thought are identical, function as ego-unities. Every atom of Divine energy, however low in the scale of existence, is an ego. But there are degrees in the expression of egohood. Throughout the entire gamut of being runs the gradually rising note of egohood until it reaches its perfection in man. That is why the Qur'ān declares the Ultimate Ego to be nearer to man than his own neck-vein. Like pearls do we live and move and have our being in the perpetual flow of Divine life.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, "from the unity of all-inclusive ego who creates and sustains all egos follows the essential unity of mankind."<sup>2</sup>

Vision and power both combined are essential to the spiritual expansion of humanity. Vision without power may bring moral elevation, but no lasting culture. Similarly, power without vision results in destruction and tyranny. Without organization there is no progress,

1. Iqbāl, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp. 99 and 100.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

material or spiritual. The chief formative factor in the life-history of Mussalmans is the ethical ideal that Islam puts forth and a definite type of polity that it establishes—the attainment of the former is the end, and the construction of the latter a means to that end. Thus, the ethical ideal represents vision and the organization of Islamic political system means power—a combination of which secures the spiritual growth of mankind. “The state, according to Islam, is only an effort to realise the spiritual in a human organization.”<sup>1</sup> Philosophically speaking, Islamic Political Theory, as enunciated by Iqbāl, is normative in its character. It is concerned with a specific ethical ideal—the raising of humanity to the highest well-being both materially and morally by means of an extensive commonwealth built up on the belief of one God, whose sovereignty is supreme.

Religion, as stated before, seeks a closer contact with the Ultimate Reality. Islam is not only a religion or a name for beliefs or certain forms of worship; it is, in fact, a philosophy of life—a complete code for the guidance of the individual's entire life—from the cradle to the

1. Iqbāl, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 217.

grave and from the grave to the yonder world. The Holy Qur'ān lays down the broad principles of life; the details came from the Prophet. Islam is, thus, all-embracing in its nature and affects all aspects of human activity—a transformation of the individual, *millat* and humanity. The essence of religion is faith, and the essential aim of religion is the “transformation and guidance of man’s inner self and outer development.” The goal of life is the realization and perfection of the individual self, which depends on the development of human faculties in the right direction. Guidance is necessary in every sphere of life and Islam provides the details of law—a complete code of creed and morals, a social order creative of a polity with every institution of an extensive commonwealth. “Islam,” says Iqbāl, “is not a departmental affair, it is neither mere thought, nor mere feeling, nor mere action; it is an expression of the whole man.”<sup>1</sup>

Islam is, thus, a harmonious blending of its various elements in a harmonious whole; no one aspect can be isolated or considered without reference to the other. In Islam, state, *millat*, *imām*, individual and government cannot be

1. Iqbāl, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 3.



treated of separately.<sup>1</sup> Again, the various aspects of a man's life—social, religious, political and economic cannot be isolated. "In Islam it is the same reality which appears as church looked at from one point of view and state from another." "Islam," contends Iqbāl, "is a single unanalysable reality, which is one or the other as your point of view varies."<sup>2</sup> "Thus, the Qur'ān considers it necessary to unite religion and state, ethics and politics in a single revelation."<sup>3</sup> Islam in short, represents a noble ideal of a harmonious whole.

In Islam, the Creator and the universe, spirit and matter, church and state are all organic to each other. A Mussalman is not required to renounce the temporal world in the interests of a world of spirit. "Man is not the citizen of a profane world to be renounced in the interests of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. To Islam

1- جلال پادشاہی ہو کہ جمہوری تماشا ہو  
جدا ہو دیں سیاست سے تورہ جاتی ہے چنگیزی

ہوئی دین و دولت میں جس دم جدائی  
ہوس کی امیری ہوس کی وزیری  
دوٹی ملک و دیں کے لئے نامرادی  
دوٹی چشم تہذیب کی نابصیری

2. Iqbāl, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 216.

3. *Ibid*, p. 231.

matter is spirit realizing itself in space and time.”<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl accepts the world of matter along with its limitations and establishes a relation between the world of matter and spirit. He says, “It is the mysterious touch of the ideal that animates and sustains the real, and through it alone we can discover and affirm the ideal. With Islam the ideal and the real are not two opposing forces which cannot be reconciled. The life of the ideal consists, not in a total breach with the real which would tend to shatter the organic wholeness of life into painful oppositions, but in the perpetual endeavour of the ideal to appropriate the real with a view eventually to absorb it, to convert it into itself and to illuminate its whole being.”<sup>2</sup> Islam, thus, rejects the old static view of the universe and reaches a dynamic view. The ethical ideal being the spiritual expansion of humanity, the Mussalman is directed to secure the highest well-being both materially and morally. Islam sets forth a standard of conduct —“enjoin right and forbid wrong.”<sup>3</sup> Rightness

1. Iqbāl, Presidential Address of the All-India Muslim League, Allahabad, 1930.

اسی قرآن میں ہے اب ترک جہاں کی تعلیم  
جس نے مومن کو بنایا مہ و پیروی کا امیر

2. Iqbāl, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 12.

3. Qur'ān, 22 : 6.

or wrongness of conduct may be considered with reference to their tendency to good or evil. A conduct is right when it is according to rule, and a conduct is good when it is valuable or serviceable for some end. Islam is a creed of service and leads its followers to seek the welfare and finally perfection of humanity in a co-operative spirit.<sup>1</sup> The end, in Islam is, thus, a perfection of humanity. And the goodness or badness of a Mussalman's conduct consists in its serviceableness for this end. Similarly that conduct of the Mussalman is alone right when it is according to the law of the Qur'ān. The *sharī'at* will tell him what is right that is to be enjoined and what is wrong that is forbidden.

It is this ethical ideal of Islam, which furnishes those basic emotions and loyalties, which may gradually unify scattered individuals and groups and finally transform them into a well-knit people called the *millat* possessing a moral consciousness of their own. "As an emotional system of unification," says Iqbāl, "Islam recognizes the worth of the individual as such, and rejects blood-relationship as a basis of human unity."<sup>2</sup> "All human life is spiritual

1. Qur'ān, 5 : 17.

2. Iqbāl, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 205.



in its origin. Such a conception is creative of fresh loyalties.”<sup>1</sup> When a number of individuals profess Islam, they adhere to its principles and acquire a passion for it ; they are loyal to Islam, they are loyal to their brethren-in-Islam ; they are loyal to their leader-in-Islam and firstly and lastly loyal to their Allah. These emotions and loyalties create a solidarity which is so essential to the development and organization of a corporate life. This organized life is marked by the attainment of a moral consciousness on the part of every member and an incessant striving towards the realization of the ideal.

Every organized life is marked by the existence of certain laws and institutions and Islam also provides for the same. Islamic life is lived according to Islamic laws and Islamic institutions, which in pursuance of the ethical ideal are essentially creative of social order and moral development. And this is the culture of Islam. Islam like other systems is not the name of a type of society, but is capable of transforming the life of individuals professing the faith into a well-ordered and well-organized community of moral and material well-being. The life of Islam, consequently, has a peculiar cultural force, and

1. Iqbāl, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 205.



is distinguished by a complete organization and a unity of will and purpose in the *millat*. "Muslim society, with its remarkable homogeneity and inner unity," says Iqbāl, "has grown to be what it is, under the pressure of the laws and institutions associated with the culture of Islam."<sup>1</sup> The structure of Muslim society, in other words, is entirely due to the working of Islam as a culture inspired by the specific ethical ideal.

Islam believes in a universal polity—a politico-religious system or a social polity—based on the fundamentals that were revealed to the Prophet. A rational interpretation of the principles of Islam began with the Prophet himself, whose constant prayer was: "God! Grant me knowledge of the ultimate nature of things." It was the Prophet's religious experience which created a distinct order. It was again this social order that developed into a polity with implicit legal precepts. The structure and working of the Islamic state rested on an analysis and systematization of these fundamentals into a body of rules called the *shari'at*. The religious ideal of Islam is, thus, organically related to the social order and the social order to the Islamic polity.

1. Iqbāl, Presidential Address of the All-India Muslim League, Allahabad, 1930.

Islam is not a church, but an organized life conceived as a contractual organism, long before Rousseau thought of it, and animated by an ethical ideal, which regards man as a spiritual being possessing rights and duties under a social mechanism.

To Iqbāl, the true religion is Islam, the best organization is the universal Islamic polity and structure, and the fittest leader of humanity is the Muslim *millat*.<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl was, thus, inspired by a vision of a world-wide Islamic state of a unified Muslim *millat*, no longer divided by racial or territorial considerations. The *millat* is a free and solid Muslim brotherhood, with *Ka'ba* as its centre, knit together by the love of Allah and devotion to the Prophet. In the *Asrār-i-Khudī* (Secrets of the Self) Iqbāl deals with the life of the individual Mussalman, and in the *Rumūz-i-Bekhudī* (Mysteries of the Negation of the Self), he discusses the life of the Islamic *millat* and organization.

The Mussalman and the *millat* require, in the first instance, a social order for their development and realization. What is Iqbāl's conception of the Islamic social order? It is a matter

of ordinary experience that the development of the individual self depends on the nature of the environing society and the ideology, which animates the entire social structure. Numerous factors, therefore, favour and stimulate the self-development of the individual—they are, in short, the natural and cultural forces that make up his being. Self-development presupposes a society. An ideal society can only be based on the principles of equality, social justice and human brotherhood. The social order of Islam as a world-unity is founded on the principle of *Tauḥīd* (Unity of God). Islam as a religion has been a living factor in the intellectual, emotional and progressive life of mankind. The ideal society according to Iqbāl is one, which is in consonance with the Prophet's conception of Islam. Being inspired by the teachings of Islam, Iqbāl neither disregarded the past nor disbelieved the organic change of human society. No people can afford to forget their past, which has made and retained their present identity. Iqbāl preached the social values of Islam, and maintained that they form the best guide for the modern world. The social order of Islam is built up on the broadest humanitarian basis.

Iqbāl enunciates the principles of Islam as an



ideal society. The individual who loses his self in the *millat* reflects both the past and the future as in a mirror, so that he transcends mortality and enters into the life of Islam, which is infinite and everlasting. In order to acquire a creative urge, the Mussalman is directed to return to the Prophet<sup>1</sup>—the particular life-centre—which is a source of the deepening of both the individual and collective consciousness. There is much difference between the prophetic and mystic types of consciousness. Iqbāl wrote, "The mystic does not wish to return from the repose of 'unitary experience': even when he does return, as he must, his return does not mean much for mankind at large. The Prophet's return is creative. He returns to insert himself into the sweep with a view to control the forces of history and thereby to create fresh world of ideals."<sup>2</sup> At another place, Iqbāl says, "Another way of judging the value of a Prophet's religious experience, therefore, would be to examine the type of manhood that he has created, and the cultural world that has sprung out of the spirit of his message."<sup>3</sup>

1- طرح عشق انداز اندر جان خیزیش  
تازه کن با مصطفی پیمان خویش

2. Iqbāl, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 173.

3. *Ibid.* p. 174.

Iqbāl has based his philosophy of life on his philosophy of the 'self.' The real cause of Muslim deterioration is *nafī-i-khudī*, the lack of self-cognizance,<sup>1</sup> and Iqbāl suggests *ithbāt-i-khudī*, self-recognition, as its remedy. 'Khudī' is here used in a philosophical sense and means recognition of one's self.<sup>2</sup> Man has a unique capacity to recognize his self and the purpose of his creation.<sup>3</sup> This capacity makes him supreme over other creatures. The life of man should, therefore, begin with the study of his self and culminate in the perfection of his self. *Khudī* is, thus, the name of several attributes found in an ideal character such as self-realization, self-

1- خوری کی موت سے مغرب کا اندروں بے نور  
خوری کی موت سے مشرق ہے مبتلائے حرام  
خوری کی موت سے روح عرب ہے بے تب و تاب  
بدن عراق و عجم کا ہے بے عروق و نظام  
خوری کی موت سے ہندی شکستہ باؤں پر  
قفس ہوا ہے حلال اور آشیانہ حرام  
خوری کی موت سے پیہر حرم ہوا متجربور  
کہ بیچ کھائے مسلمان کا جامۂ احرام

2- خوری کیا ہے راز درون حیات

خوری کیا ہے بیداری کائنات  
ازل اس کے پیچھے ابد سامنے  
نہ حد اس کے پیچھے نہ ابد سامنے

3- خوری کو کر بلند اتنا کہ ہر تقدیر سے پہلے  
خدا بندے سے خور پوچھے بتا تیری رضا کیا ہے

assertion, boldness, spirit of independence, sense of respect, noble idealism and action. The object is spiritual elevation.

Iqbāl did not believe in a universal life; to him all life is individual in character. God Himself is an individual, but the most unique individual. The universe, as an organized association of 'individuals,' is in a state of organic growth. Man plays an important part in this process of evolution. The ethical and religious ideal of Islam is not self-negation, but self-affirmation. The individual attains to this ideal by becoming more and more individual or unique. The Prophet said, "Create in yourself the attributes of God." Thus, man has, as his ideal, the most unique Individual, whom he has to follow. The highest form of life is the *khudī* or Ego, in which the individual becomes a "self-contained exclusive centre," both physically and spiritually.<sup>1</sup> The individual draws closer and closer to God, until he is the completest person. Success lies in the struggle against all material forces, which hinder the progress of man. "The life of the

1- پیکر هستی ز آثار خودی است  
 هر چه می بینی ز اسرار خودی است  
 خویشتن را چون خودی بیدار کرد  
 آشکارا عالم پندار کرد



Ego is a kind of tension caused by the Ego invading the environment and the environment invading the Ego.”<sup>1</sup> The true person masters the environment and, consequently, absorbs God into his Ego. The Ego attains to freedom by removing all obstructions in its way by assimilating them. Life is, thus, a “forward assimilative movement.” The Ego “reaches fuller freedom by appropriating the Individual who is most free—God.” Life is, thus, an endeavour to be free. “And verily towards thy God is the limit,” says the Qur’ān.

The Ego or Person is the centre of life in man. Personality is a “state of tension”; the moment it ceases, relaxation follows. The development of the Ego is not possible without an ideal. Life is a ceaseless activity after the ideal—a perpetual desire.<sup>2</sup> ‘Man’ is a restless being engrossed in ceaseless pursuit of fresh scopes for

1. Iqbāl, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 143.

2- زندگی در جستجو پوشیده است  
 اصل او در آرزو پوشیده است  
 آرزو را در دل خود زنده دار  
 تا نگردد مشیت خای تو مزار  
 ما ز تخیلی مقاصد زنده ایم  
 از شعاع آرزو تابنده ایم



self-expression and realization.<sup>1</sup> He is a "creative activity, an ascending spirit who, on his onward march rises from one state to another."<sup>2</sup> The idea of personality sets forth a standard of value—a problem of good and evil. Accordingly, that which strengthens personality is good; that which weakens is bad. "The Ego is fortified by love,"<sup>3</sup> which means the desire to assimilate or absorb." Its highest form is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour to realize them. Love individualises the lover as well as

1- خودی کی یہ ہے منزل اولیں  
مسافر! یہ تیرا نشیمن نہیں  
تری آگ اس خاکداں سے نہیں  
جہاں تجھ سے ہے تو جہاں سے نہیں  
بڑھے جا یہ کوہ گراں توڑ کر  
طلسم زمان و مکان توڑ کر

2. Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 15.

3- مرد خدا کا عمل عشق سے صاحب فروغ  
عشق ہے اصل حیات موت ہے اس پر حرام  
نقطہ نور کہ نام او خودی است  
زیر خاک ما شرار زندگی است  
از محبت می شود پائندہ تر  
زندہ تر سوزندہ تر تباہندہ تر

the beloved.<sup>1</sup> The effort to realize the most unique individuality individualises the seeker and implies the individuality of the sought, for nothing else would satisfy the nature of the seeker."

The Ego passes through three stages in its onward movement towards uniqueness—(1) obedience to the law,<sup>2</sup> (2) self-control, the highest form of self-consciousness or Egohood, and (3) Divine-Vicegerency. The Vicegerent of God is the completest Ego on earth. The goal of humanity is a combination of the highest power and the highest knowledge. The Vicegerent is, therefore, "the real ruler of mankind ; his kingdom is the kingdom of God on earth. Out of the richness of his nature he lavishes the wealth of life on others, and brings them nearer and

1- هست معشوقه طمان اندر دلت  
چشم اگر داری بیا بنمائمت  
عاشقان او ز خونان خوب تر  
خوشتتر و زیبا تر و محبوب تر

2- عاشقی ؟ محکم شو از تقلید یار  
تا کمند تو شود یزدان شکار  
در اطاعت کوش اے غفلت شعار  
می شود از جبر پیدا اختیار

nearer to himself.”<sup>1</sup> “For the present he is a mere ideal; but the evolution of humanity is tending towards the production of an ideal race of more or less unique individuals, who will become his fitting parents. Thus, the kingdom of God on earth means democracy of more or less unique individuals presided over by the most unique individual possible on this earth.” Thus, aspiration and passionate idealism serve as dynamic forces, which strengthen the ‘self.’ But, if *khudi* is properly disciplined by obedience and self-control and rightly cultivated, it develops a personality worthy of representing God on earth. “It is the lot of man to share in the deeper aspiration of the universe around him and to shape his own destiny as well as that of the universe.”<sup>2</sup>

The philosophy of *khudi* has its corollary the conception of *bekhudi* (negation of the self). It means the losing of one’s self in the community to serve a common end.<sup>3</sup> Individuals develop

- 1- نایب حق در جهان بودن خوش است  
بر عناصر حکمران بودن خوش است  
نایب حق همچو جان عالم است  
هستی او ظل اسم انظم است

2. Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 16.

- 3- واحدست و بر نمی تابد دویی  
من ز تاب او من استم و تو تویی

their *khudī* to such an extent that they submit to the *millat*, but remain animated with an intense love of action and freedom.<sup>1</sup> Such individuals are a source of strength to the *millat*, and the *millat* exalts their position.<sup>2</sup>

Man is a social being, and can only live in the society of his fellow-men.<sup>3</sup> The individual and the *millat* reflect each other; the individual is elevated through the *millat*, and the *millat* is organized through individuals.<sup>4</sup> An isolated individual is ignorant of his ideals and capabilities. The *millat* inspires him with knowledge of his functions in life, and forces him to be free by enslaving him under an organized social structure.<sup>5</sup> It is on account of a craving for associa-

1- فطر تش آزاد و هم زنجیری است  
جزو او را قوت کل گیری است

2- فرد را ربط جماعت رحمت است  
جوهر او را کمال از ملت است

3- در جماعت فرد را بینیم ما  
از چمن او را چو گل چینیم ما

4- فرد می گیرد ز ملت احترام  
ملت از افراد می یابد نظام

5- چون اسیر حلقه آئین شود  
آهوائی رم خوئی او مشکین شود



tion that the individual forms the basic unit of the *millat*.<sup>1</sup> Out of necessity, he is a member of the *millat*; he depends on the *millat* for his self-expression and realization.<sup>2</sup> As soon as the individual loses his 'self' in the *millat* he finds his personality an embodiment of past traditions and reflects both the past and the future as in a mirror.<sup>3</sup>

His individuality shines in the multiplicity of *millat*, and the diversity of the *millat* acquires unity through his individuality.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the *millat*, which is composed of individual Muslims, is required to achieve a real collective Ego to live, move and have its being as a single individual.<sup>5</sup> The institution of prophethood unifies the *millat* and completes its formation

1- پاخته تر از گرمی صاحبیت شود  
تا بمعنی فرد هم ملت شود

2- در دلش ذوق نمو از ملت است  
احتساب کار او از ملت است

3- مایه دار سیرت دیرینه او  
رفته و آئنده را آئینه او

4- وحدت او مستقیم از کثرت است  
کثرت اندر وحدت او وحدت است

5. "Hold fast to yourself; no one who erreth can hurt you provided you are well-guided."—Qur'an 4: 11.

under an organized system of law and order.<sup>1</sup>

The Islamic *millat* is based on the fundamental principles of the Unity of God and the finality of the Prophet.<sup>2</sup> The principle of *Tauḥīd* demands loyalty to God. God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life ; loyalty to God, therefore, amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal nature. All human life is spiritual in its origin. Psychologically, the principle of *Tauḥīd* seeks to restore an integral unity to the distracted and torn world. It brings a new sense of courage and frees the outlook of man from fear and superstitions.<sup>3</sup> Despair, free and diffident men-

1- تا خدا صاحب دلے پیدا کند  
کوز حرفے دفترے املا کند  
ساز پروازے کہ از آوازہ  
خاک را بخشد حیات تازه  
ذرہ بے مایہ ضو گیرد از او  
ہر متاعے ارج نو گیرد از او  
دیدہ او می کشد لب جاں دمد  
تا روشی میرد یکے پیدا شود

2- تا سوئے یک مدعا پیش می کشد  
حلقہ آئین پیدایش می کشد  
نکتہ توحید باز آموزدش  
رسم و آئین نیاز آموزدش

3- بیم و شک میرد عمل گیرد حیات  
چشم می بیند ضمیر کائنات

tality are the worst tendencies in man and destroy noble life.<sup>1</sup> The remedy lies in an implicit faith in Allah and submission to His will.<sup>2</sup> Iqbāl, thus, advocates a ceaseless struggle in the pursuit of the ideal,<sup>3</sup> which constitutes real life. It is the principle of *Tauhīd* that unifies the diverse elements and groups comprising the Islamic *millat*.<sup>4</sup> The doctrine of *Tauhīd* carries with it a principle of action and forms the basis of the advancement of humanity. It is not only the conviction of the truth but the acceptance of a proposition as a basis of action. "Those who believe and do good," means that no belief is acceptable unless it is carried into practice by

1- نہ ہو نومید- نومیدی زوال علم و عرفاں ہے  
امید مرد مومن ہے خدا کے راز دار و نمین

2- از رضا مسلم مثال کوکب است  
در رہستی تبسم برب است  
گر خدا داری ز غم آزاد شو  
از خیال بیش و کم آزاد شو

3- مرگ را سامان ز قطع آرزو است  
زندگانی منہکم از لا تقنطو است

4- ملت بیضا تن و جان لا الہ  
ساز ما را پردہ گرداں لا الہ  
لا الہ سرمایہ اسرار ما  
رشتہ اش شیرازہ افکار ما



performing duties to Allah.<sup>1</sup>

Allah is the real owner of sovereignty. The sovereignty of Allah extends to the entire universe, the whole humanity, and all organizations. Allah is the real source of religion, philosophy and law, and bestower of power, strength and authority.<sup>2</sup> "Say: O God! Owner of Sovereignty, Thou givest power unto whom Thou wilt and Thou withdrawest power from whom Thou pleasest."<sup>3</sup> The Muslim *millat* being extraordinarily God-conscious is permeated by a religious control, which extends to every sphere of its conduct.<sup>4</sup>

The extraordinary and remarkable personality of Prophet Muḥammad provides a connecting link between the various loyalties characteristic of the fundamental polity of Islam. It is this concentration of loyalties that transforms the Musalmans into a well-defined unified

1- تا ز اسرار تو بنماید ترا  
امتحانش از عمل باید ترا

2- دین ازو حکمت ازو آئین ازو  
زور ازو قوت ازو تمکین ازو

3. Qur'an, 3: 3.

4- ملت ما را اساس دیگر است  
این اساس اندر دل ما مضمحل است

*millat*,<sup>1</sup> representing a message of hope for humanity.<sup>2</sup> The Prophet is the guide and unifier of the Muslim *millat*. The *millat* owes its being to him,<sup>3</sup> and through him the Musalmans are one and possess oneness of purpose.<sup>4</sup> The *millat* is a unified association of individual Musalmans, animated by a strong desire for unity.<sup>5</sup> The unity of the *millat* is the outcome of the religion of humanity, which was revealed to the Prophet.<sup>6</sup> So long as the *millat* retains this unity of will

1- از رسالت در جهان تکوین ما  
از رسالت دین ما آئین ما  
از رسالت صد هزار ما یک است  
جزو ما از جزو ما لاینفک است

2- ما ز حکم نسبت او ملتیم  
اهل عالم را پیام رحمتیم

3- زندگی قوم از دم او یافت است  
این سحر از آفتابش قاف است

4- از رسالت هم نوا گشتیم ما  
هم نفس هم مدعا گشتیم ما

5- کثرت هم مدعا وحدت شود  
پاخته چون وحدت شود ملت شود

6- زنده هر کثرت ز بند وحدت است  
وحدت مسلم ز دین فطرت است

دین فطرت از نبی آموختیم  
سوز ره حق مشعل افروختیم

and purpose, its life is secure and lasting.<sup>1</sup>

The Prophet of Islam is the last, and his *ummat* is the best people and leaders of the rest. Allah completed the Faith for the Musalmans, and sent His last message through the Prophet of Islam.<sup>2</sup> There will be no Prophet after Muḥammad, and no *ummat* after the Musalmans.<sup>3</sup> The Muslim *millat* is charged with the duty of perfecting the world order and the raising of humanity to a higher, nobler and spiritual state of life.<sup>4</sup> Thus, there is no *Sulṭānate* or

1- قَا نِه اِيْن وَحْدَت ز دَسْت مَآ رُوْد  
هَسْتِي مَآ بَا اَبَد مَحْدَم شُوْد

هَ زَنْدِه فَقْط وَحْدَت افْكَار سَے مِلّت  
وَحْدَت هُو فَنَا جِس سَے وَه اِلْهَام بَهِي الْكَوَار

2. "This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion."—  
Qur'ān 5: 8.

پَسِي خُدا بَر مَآ شَرِيْعَت خْتَم كُود  
بَر رَسُوْل مَآ رَسَالَت خْتَم كُود  
رَوْنَق اَز مَآ مَحْفَل اَيَّام رَا  
اَو رَسُل رَا خْتَم وَ مَآ اقْوَام رَا

3- لَا نَبِي بَعْدِي زَا حَسَانِ خُدا اَسْت  
پَرْدَه نَامُوسِ دِيْنِ مُصْطَفٰى اَسْت  
دَل ز غِيْر اَللّٰهِ مُسْلِمَانِ بَر كَنْد  
نَعْرَه لَا قَوْمِ بَعْدِي مَن زَنْد

4- خُدْمَتِ سَاقِي گُري بَا مَآ گُزاشْت  
دَار مَآ رَا آخِرِي حَامِي نِه دَاشْت  
سَرُوْرِي دَر دِيْنِ مَآ خُدْمَتِ گُري اَسْت  
عَدْلِ فَاَرْوَقِ وَ فَقْرِ حَيْدَرِي اَسْت  
دَر قِبَائِے خُسْرُوِي دَرُوِيْشِي زِي  
دِيْدِه بِيْدَلَر وَ خُود اَنْدِيْشِي زِي



*Bādshāhat* in Islam.<sup>1</sup>

The object of the Prophethood of Muḥammad is to establish the fundamental unity of mankind on the basis of equality, liberty and fraternity. It was a message of human equality in social status and legal rights. God sent many messengers and prophets to reform the corrupt condition of the world. It has been the mission of every messenger to establish an ethical ideal and a system of life, having its basis in the sovereignty of God. The original doctrine was soon mixed up with polytheism; and the origin of all mischief was to impose the Godhood of man over man.<sup>2</sup> Slavery was in vogue, which debased the nature of man.<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad, the Prophet of Islam, being the last Messenger, came with the final message to free humanity of the Godhood of man. "He (God) is your *Rabb* (benefactor) and your *Ilah* (Overlord), Who is the Creator of

1- خریدین نہ ہم جس کو اپنے لہو سے  
مسلمان کو ہے ننگ وہ پادشاہی

2- بود انساں در جہاں انساں پرست  
فاکس و نابور مندو زیر دست  
سطوت کسری و قیصر رهنش  
بند ہا در دست و پا و گردنش

3- کاہن و پا پا و سلطان و امیر  
بہر یک ناختاچیر صد ناختاچیر گیر



you and the universe. Do not recognize any one as your Lord except Him," thus preached the Prophet of Islam. Slaves were freed, social equality was enforced and a world-conquering *ummat* came into being.<sup>1</sup> The Prophet taught the world lessons in equality, liberty<sup>2</sup> and fraternity long before the architect of the French Revolution repeated these words. Every Musalman is a trustee of the *millat*, and the bond of love is the source of liberty for all.<sup>3</sup> The unshakable

1- از غلامی فطرت او دوش شده  
نغمه ها اندر نه او خون شده  
تا امینے حق به حقداران سپرد  
بندگان را مسند خاواں سپرد  
تازه جان اندر تن آدم دمید  
بنده را باز از خداوندان خرید  
نقش نو بر صفا که هستی کشید  
امت گیتی کشائے آفرید

2- امتے از ما سوا بیگانه  
بر چراغ مصطفیٰ پروانه  
کل مومن اخوة اندر دایه  
حریت سرمایہ آب و گلشن  
ناشکیب امتیازات آمده  
در نهاد او مساوات آمده

3- هر يكے از ما امين ملت است  
صلح و كينش صلح و كين ملت است  
عشق را آرام جان حریت است  
ناقص اش را ساربان حریت است

faith in the unity of God and the prophethood of Muḥammad binds all the Musalmans together, and this is the true Islamic spirit of a practical brotherhood. The fundamental unity of mankind becomes possible and real, if the conception of Islamic fraternity is revived and enforced.

The Islamic *millat* being based on the principles of the unity of God and the finality of the Prophet, is not confined to territorial limits. Nationalism is foreign to Muslim polity; to a Musalman the entire world is his abode and place of worship, for it lies within the sovereignty of his Allah.<sup>1</sup> As opposed to the idea of nationalism based on the accident of geographical situation, race, colour and language,<sup>2</sup> Islam seeks to base the community of mankind on the belief in one God and, consequently, on the belief of

1- تا ز بخششہائے آن سلطان دین

مسجد ما شد ہمہ روئے زمیں  
فکر انسان بت پرستے بت گرے  
ہر زمان در جستجوئے پیکرے

2- باز طرح آذری انداخت است

تازہ تر پروردگارے ساخت است  
کاید از خون ریختن اندر طرب  
نام اوزنگ است وہم ملک و نسب  
ان تازہ خداؤں میں یڑا سب سے وطن ہے  
جو پیرہن اسکا ہے وہ مذہب کا کفن ہے

human brotherhood and fraternity. The universal spirit of Islam means submission to the will of God and peace with all fellow-men. A Muslim believes in one Supreme God and His Prophet and, consequently, in the universal idea of Islamic fraternity, and cannot, thus, confine himself to a particular locality or geographical area,<sup>1</sup> Prophet's own departure from his homeland solved the riddle and the Islamic *millat* was put on a world-wide basis.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, surprising that Iqbal characterised Jamāl-ud-Dīn Afghānī as "a living link between the past and the future of Muslims,"<sup>3</sup> and spoke so

1- جوهر ما با مقامے بسته نیست  
بارہٴ تندریش بیجامے بسته نیست  
ہندی و چینی سفال جام ماست  
رومی و شامی و گل اندام ماست  
قلب ما از ہند و روم و شام نیست  
مرزبوم او بہجز اسلام نیست

2- عقدہ قومیت مسلم کشور  
از وطن آقائے ما ہجرت نمود  
حکمتش یک ملت گیتی نورد  
بر اساس کلمئہ تعمیر کرد  
ہجرت آئین حیات مسلم است  
این ز اسباب ثبات مسلم است  
ہے ترک وطن سنت محبوب الہی  
دے توبہ کی نبوت کی صداقت پہ گواہی

3. Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 136.



highly about a person, who infused the spirit of nationalism in every Muslim country, thus striking a blow to the idea of universal *khilāfat*.

Islam as a world system is a living force, and frees the outlook of man from racial, geographical and materialistic conceptions. On the political side, Islam definitely rejects the claims of racial and geographical factors to order the loyalties of the Musalmans.<sup>1</sup> No territorial nationalism or aggressive patriotism is allowed in Islam. Such a notion disrupts the essential unity of mankind<sup>2</sup> and narrows down the cosmopolitan outlook of Islam. The national idea produces a materialistic outlook of life and racial and territorial consciousness counteracts the

1- نے افغانیہم و نے قریٰ تترام

چمن زاریم و از یک شاخسارم

تمیز رنگ و بو بر ما حرام است

کہ ما پروردہ یک شاخسارم

2- آں چنان قطع اخوت کردہ اند

بر وطن تعمیر مات کردہ اند

قاوطن را شمع محفل ساختند

نوع انساں را قبائل ساختند

مردمی اندر جہاں افسانہ شد

آدمی از آدمی بیگانہ شد

روح از تن رفت و ہفت اندام ماند

آدمیت گم شد و اقوام ماند



humanising spirit of mankind.<sup>1</sup> The *millat* is, thus, defined not by economic, linguistic or psychological values but by spiritual traditions and inner consciousness, derived from the immutable laws of revealed religion.<sup>2</sup> The Islamic *millat* is further predestined and has no time-limit.<sup>3</sup> The *millat* has a peculiar vitality and permanence of its own, and is perfected through the worship of, and submission to, Allah.<sup>4</sup>

- 1- اقوام جہاں میں ہے رقابت تو اسی سے  
تستخیر ہے مقصور تجارت تو اسی سے  
خالی ہے صداقت سے سیاست تو اسی سے  
کمزور کا گھر ہوتا ہے غارت تو اسی سے  
اقوام میں مخلوق خدا بٹتی ہے اسی سے  
قومیت اسلام کی جڑ کھتی ہے اسی سے
- 2- صورت ماہی بہ بکر آباد شو  
یعنی از قید مقام آباد شو  
ہو قید مقامی تو نتیجہ ہے تباہی  
رہ بکر میں آزاد وطن صورت ماہی  
گفتار سیاست میں وطن اور ہی کچھ ہے  
ارشاد نبوت میں وطن اور ہی کچھ ہے
- 3- گرچہ ملت ہم ہمیرد مثل فرد  
از اجل فرماں پذیر و مثل فرد  
از اجل این قوم بے پرواستی  
استوار از شکن نر لداستے
- 4- در جہاں بانگ ازاں بوردست و ہست  
ملت اسلامیان بوردست و ہست  
امتے در حق پرستی کا ملے  
امتے محبوب ہر صاحب دے

The organization of a *millat* rests on law, and the law of the Islamic *millat* is the Qur'ān.<sup>1</sup> The Islamic *millat* is to be organized according to its own distinct law.<sup>2</sup> Allah is not only the Creator and an object of worship, but is also the law-giver. The law of the Qur'ān manifests the will of Allah. The *sharī'at*,<sup>3</sup> the path of virtue or the divine code of ethical and social laws is supreme, and, politically, the individual and the Amīr, being members of the Islamic *millat* and subject to the same law, were never regarded immune or absolute.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the supremacy of the divine law is one of the fundamental tenets of Islamic polity.<sup>5</sup> The rule, therefore, is that the *millat* is deprived of legislative powers. The

- 1- تو همی دانی کہ آئین تو چیست؟  
زیر گردوں سر تمکین تو چیست؟  
آن کتاب زندہ قرآن حکیم  
حکمت او لایزال است و قدیم
- 2- ملت از آئین حق گیرد نظام  
از نظام متحکمے خیزد دوام
- 3- علم حق غیر از شریعت هیچ نیست  
اصل سنت جز محبت هیچ نیست
- 4- گر تو می خواهی مسلمان زیستن  
نیست ممکن جز بقرآن زیستن
- 5- مصلحت وقت کی ہے کسی کے عمل کا معیار  
کون ہے تارک آئین رسول مختار

liberty of the individual is ensured through the divine law.<sup>1</sup> The *millat* is to submit to the Apostle, for he proclaimed and interpreted the divine commandments as His messenger.<sup>2</sup> All Muslims have equal status and enjoy equal rights in the body-politic. This sort of civil liberty and theory of equal opportunities dependent on it is the peculiar feature of Islamic politics. It is clear from the above that the Islamic system of government is not the democracy of the Western type, where a law may be enforced, changed or modified at the sweet will of the majority.<sup>3</sup>

Every Musalman believes in the supremacy of Islam. Islam does not suppress the human soul and the development of its latent potentia-

1- هستی مسلم ز آئین است و بس  
باطن دین نبی این است و بس  
از یک آئینی مسلمان زنده است  
پیکر ملت ز قرآن زنده است

2- هست دین مصطفی دین حیات  
شرع او تفسیر آئین حیات  
فرد را شرع است مرقعات یقینی  
پاخته قرآن و مقامات یقینی

3- جمہوریت ایک طرز حکومت ہے کہ جسمیں  
بندوں کو گنا کرتے ہیں تو لا نہیں کرتے  
گریز از طرز جمہوری غلامی پاختہ کارے شو  
کہ از مغز دو صد خر فکر افسانے نمی آید



lities, but merely lays down limits to its activity. These limits are known as the *sharī‘at-i-Islāmīa* or the Divine law of Islam. The ‘self’, when subordinated to Divine law turns Islamic. The self in a modern conception is not bridled by any law except the law of force, but, ‘self’ in Islam is subject to the laws and ethics of Islam. So long as the ‘ego’ of nations is not subordinated to the Divine law, world-peace remains an unrealized dream. The working of the late League of Nations amply proves it.<sup>1</sup>

Iqbal also discusses the doctrine of *Ijtihād*, thus maintaining a correct balance between the categories of permanence and change. “The ultimate spiritual basis of all life as conceived by Islam,” says Iqbāl, “is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life ; for the eternal gives us a foothold

1- ہے وہی ساز کھن مغرب کا جمہوری نظام  
 جسکے پردوں میں نہیں غیر از نوائے قیصری  
 برفتد تا روش رزم دریں بزم کھن  
 درمندان جہاں طرح نو انداختہ اند  
 من از این بیش ندانم کہ کفن دزرے چند  
 بہر تقسیم قبور انجمنے ساختہ اند



in the world of perpetual change.”<sup>1</sup> “The teaching of the Qur’ān that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation guided, but unhampered, by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems.” This implies the right of *Ijtihād*—independent judgment and interpretation of law in the light of changing circumstances, which Iqbāl holds essential to the healthy development of the body-politic. “The closing of the door of *Ijtihād*,” contends Iqbāl, “is a pure fiction.”

The characteristic virtue of the *millat* is attained by adopting the manner and way of living as practised by the Prophet.<sup>2</sup> Muslim temperament should, therefore, be all-affection and the words and deeds of a Musalman are to be an example to be followed by others.<sup>3</sup> One who deviates from this path is not to be counted

1. Iqbāl, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 207.

2- غنچه از شاخسار مصطفی  
گل شو از بار بهار مصطفی  
از بهارش رنگ و بو باید گرفت  
نمونه از خلق او باید گرفت

3- فطرت مسلم سراپا شفقت است  
در جهان دست و زبانش رحمت است

as a genuine member of the *millat*.<sup>1</sup> True organization is based on holding fast to the ideal of the *millat*, which is the preservation and propagation of the principle of the Unity of God.<sup>2</sup> Islam believes in an active utilization of the forces of nature, and thereby to gain an effective control over its material environment.<sup>3</sup> In order to fulfil the material needs of the *millat*, the development and proper use of science is essential.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the socio-political order of Islam is keenly

1- وز مقام او اگر دور ایستی  
از میان معشر ما نیستی  
چون حیات از مقصد مکرر شود  
ضابط اسباب این عالم شود

2- زانکه در تکبیر راز بود تست  
حفظ و نشر لاله مقصود تست

3- هر که مکتوسات را تسخیر کرد  
عالم از ذره تعمیر کرد  
کوه و صحرای دشت و دریا بنکر و بر  
تاختن تعلیم از باب نظر  
اے که از تاثیر افیون خفته  
عالم اسباب را در گفتن  
خیز و وا کن دیده مخمور را  
دور متخوان این عالم متجور را

4- غایتش توسیع ذات مسلم است  
امتحان ممکنات مسلم است  
تا ز تسخیر قوائی این نظام  
نو فنیهای نو گردد تمام

alive and responsive to the fact of change. Iqbāl realizes that life is a perpetual change or motion, and advocates a ceaseless struggle in the pursuit of the Islamic ideal. The Islamic *millat* is required to possess a real collective ego to live, move and have its being as a single individual. The development of such a consciousness depends on the preservation of the History<sup>1</sup> and traditions of the *millat*.<sup>2</sup> The centre of the Islamic *millat* is *Ka'ba*.<sup>3</sup>

Iqbāl was not an advocate of war, and no Musalman acquainted with his faith can be a

- 1- چیسٹ تاریخ اے ز خود بیگا نہ  
داستانے ، قصہ افسانہ  
این ترا از خویشتن آگاہ کند  
آشنائے کار و مرد ره کند  
سرزند از ماضی تو حال تو  
خیزد از حال تو استقبال تو
- 2- ربط ایام است ما را پیرهن  
سوزنش حفظ روایات کهن  
ضبط کن تاریخ را پائنده شو  
از نفسہائے رمیدہ زندہ شو  
مشکن از خواہی حیات لازوال  
رشتہ ماضی ز استقبال و حال
- 3- قوم را ربط و نظام از مرکزے  
روزگارش را دوام از مرکزے  
راز دار و راز ما بیت الکرام  
سوز ما ہم ساز ما بیت الکرام

supporter of war as such. According to the dictates of the Qur'ān there are only two grounds for waging war (*jihād*) ; in the first place, in self-defence and, in the second place, for the establishment of conditions of universal peace or to enforce the regime of law in human society. When Musalmans are tyrannized over and driven out of their homes, they are *permitted* to appeal to arms. War may also be waged for "Collective Security." In no other circumstances, war is obligatory. War for "appeasement of land-hunger" is unlawful in Islam.

According to Iqbāl, "the ultimate fate of a people does not depend so much on organization as on the worth and power of individual man. In an over-organized society, the individual is altogether crushed out of existence. He gains the whole wealth of social thought around him and loses his own soul."<sup>1</sup> The only effective force, in the words of Iqbāl, is the rearing of self-centred individual. "Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but a league of nations, which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only and not for restricting the social horizon of

1. Iqbāl, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 212.



its members.”<sup>1</sup> Among the Muslim nations of to-day, Iqbāl praises Turkey, which “alone has shaken off its dogmatic slumber and attained to consciousness.”<sup>2</sup> Iqbāl thus appeals to every Muslim nation “to sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics”<sup>3</sup> The republican form of government is thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam and is an absolute necessity. Muslim legislative assembly is the only possible and legal form that *Ijmā‘* can take in modern time.

So far as Indian politics is concerned, Iqbāl’s idea of *Pakistan* aimed at a complete possession of a belt of India to the Musalmans, and then to join it with neighbouring Islamic countries under a common name. Those who hesitate to accept the Muslim ideology may remember the words of Iqbāl, who said about himself, “I love the communal group, which is the source of my life and behaviour; and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, culture, and thereby recreating its whole

1. Iqbāl, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 224.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 225, 226.

3. *Ibid*, p. 223.

past, as a living operative factor, in my present consciousness.”<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl solemnly prayed to Allah to grant him a partisan,<sup>2</sup> who may carry on the reform movement started by him. And I believe Allah listened to his prayer. Iqbāl was the mind and Jinnah was the heart of Muslim India.

شب گریزاں ہوگی آخر جلوہ خورشید سے  
یہ چمن معمور ہوگا نغمہ توحید سے

1. Iqbāl, *The Presidential Address of the All-India Muslim League*, Allahabad, 1930.

2- ایں امانت باز گیر از سینہ ام  
خار جوهر برکش از آئینہ ام  
با مرا یک ہمد دیرینہ دہ  
عشق عالم سوز را آئینہ دہ

## II

### THE NATURE OF ISLAMIC POLITICAL THEORY<sup>1</sup>

○F RECENT years, there has been a tendency on the part of Muslim writers to identify Islam with every form of modern political theory, however conflicting they must be in their nature and contents. If Socialism is in vogue, they would say it is found in Islam. If Communism comes into prominence, it is passed on as Islamic. If democracy is much talked of, it is claimed that Islam stands for democracy. If nationalism is praised, they gladly condescend to think in terms of nation and nationality. If the modern secular states are under discussion, they are content with saying that the Islamic state is a theocracy. Some hold that the political system of Islam is based on dictatorship. Then there are extreme views regarding Islam. Some hold that there are no politics in Islam, others believe that Islam is all politics. If they are reminded that Islam is a religion of peace,

1. This paper was read before Majlis-i-Islāmiyāt, Muslim University, Aligarh.

they at once say, 'Yes, Islam teaches toleration.' The confusion arises out of a misunderstanding of the true nature of Islamic political theory, and a wrong method of interpreting Islam through the medium of Western ideas, terminology and technique.

Before describing the underlying principles of Islamic political theory, it is worthwhile to consider the meaning and implications of Islam. No other religion is so misrepresented and misinterpreted as Islam, yet it survives by virtue of its purity, vitality and clarity of fundamentals. 'Islam is religion,' is the general view, and 'religion is politics.' Religion and politics cannot be separated in Islam. A true Muslim is shocked to think in terms of religion and politics; he only thinks in terms of Islam. Islam is not only a religion or a name for belief or certain forms of worship; it is, in fact, a way of life—a complete code for the guidance of the individual's entire life, from the cradle to the grave, and from the grave to the yonder world. The Holy Qur'ān lays down the broad principles of life, the details came from the Prophet. Islam is all-embracing in its nature and affects all aspects of human activity—a transformation of



the individual, of the family, of the society, of the people, of the country and of humanity; an awakening, material, intellectual, moral, and spiritual; and an attainment of the highest pin-nacle of civilization from the lowest depth of degradation. The goal of life is the realization and perfection of the individual self, which depends on the development of human faculties in the right direction. Guidance is necessary in every sphere of life and Islam provides the details of law—a complete code of creed and morals, a social order creative of a polity with every institution of an extensive commonwealth—all built up in the belief of One God, Omnipotent, and Omnipresent.

Islam is thus a blending of various elements into one harmonious whole; no one aspect of it can be isolated or considered without reference to the others. In Islam, state, *millat*, *imām*, individual, and government cannot be treated separately; again the various aspects of man's life—social, political, religious, and economic—cannot be isolated in watertight compartments. The British can establish and run their parliamentary form of government without being Christians, but no Islamic state can be worked by non-Muslims. It is Islam that guides all the

institutions of the Muslims, and no institution is independent of the others. It is, therefore, wrong to think that we can formulate an Islamic political theory or a conception of the Islamic state as an independent idea or an independent institution. It is not possible to find out where one institution began and where it ended.

In Islam, religion is not a private affair of the individual; Allah and the Universe, spirit and matter, church and state, are all organic to each other. A Muslim is not required to renounce the temporal world in the interests of a world of spirit. Christianity made that mistake and the result was that the ill-adjusted national states of Europe have all along been presiding over the moral and religious convictions of Christianity. In Islam there is no church organization, no priesthood; Islam believes in a universal polity—a politico-religious system for the entire world—based on fundamentals that were revealed to the Prophet of Islam. The structure and working of the Islamic state rested on an analysis and systematization of those fundamentals into a body of rules called the *Shari'at*. The Islamic system of government, therefore, cannot be compared to Western theocracy where the Pope could modify, change and make laws.

Again, nationalism is foreign to Muslim polity; to a Muslim the entire world is his abode, for it lies within the sovereignty of his Allah. The national idea produces a materialistic outlook upon life and racial and territorial consciousness counteracts the humanizing spirit of mankind. Islam, as a world system, is a living force and frees the outlook of man from racial, geographical, and materialistic conceptions. Religious and ethical standards are of the utmost importance in the life of individuals and their organizations. It is not possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal or to reject it as a polity. It is both—an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity. In short, our religion, our social order, our polity and every other thing appertaining to our *millat*, are embodied in that one word, "Islam." Islam represents a noble ideal of a harmonious whole.

Philosophically speaking, Islamic political theory is normative in its character. It deals with a specific ethical ideal. The chief formative factor in the life-history of Muslims is the ethical ideal that Islam puts forth and a definite type of polity that it establishes; the attainment of the former is the end and the construction of the latter is the means to that end. Without organi-



zation there is no progress, material or spiritual. Islam sets forth a standard of conduct. "Enjoin right and forbid wrong."<sup>1</sup> Rightness and wrongness of conduct may be considered with reference to their tendency to good or to evil. Conduct is right when it is according to rule, and conduct is good when it is valuable or serviceable for some end. Thus, the supreme good is the supreme end at which we aim. Islam is a creed of service and leads its followers to seek the welfare and finally the perfection of humanity in a co-operative spirit.<sup>2</sup> The end, therefore, is the perfection of humanity. Perfection has reference to that stage of the highest well-being to which humanity may attain, and this well-being is both moral and material.<sup>3</sup> Moral well-being consists in seeking Allah's pleasure to the full.<sup>4</sup> To seek the

1. "*Amr-i-til-Ma'rūf Nahī 'anil munkar*," Qur'ān, 22 : 6. "Those whom should We establish in the land, will keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate and enjoin good and forbid evil; and Allah is the end of affairs."

2. "There is no good in most of their secret counsels except (in his who enjoins charity of goodness or reconciliates people); and whosoever does this seeking Allah's pleasure, We will give him a mighty reward." Qur'ān, 5 : 17.

3. "In the creation of the heavens and the earth and the alternation of the night and the day, there are surely signs for men of understanding; those who remember God, standing and sitting and lying on their sides and reflect on the creation of heavens and the earth," Qur'ān, 3 : 189, 190.

4. "So whosoever hopes to meet his Lord, he should do good deeds, and not join any one in the service of his Lord," Qur'ān, 18 : 110.



pleasure of Allah is to act according to the will of Allah. The will of Allah is manifested in that ethical and moral code of human guidance called the *Shari'at*. In Islam both the individual and society have the same end—to obey the will of God by enforcing the law of God. Islamic political theory is concerned with the specific ethical ideal—the raising of humanity to the highest well-being both materially and morally by means of an extensive commonwealth built up on the belief in One God, Whose sovereignty is supreme. It is towards this ideal that the Muslim is directed,<sup>1</sup> and the rightness or wrongness of his conduct consists in its serviceableness for that end. That conduct of the Muslim is alone right which is according to law, and law here means the *Shari'at*. 'Enjoin right and forbid wrong' is a duty imposed on the Muslim, and *Shari'at* will tell him what is right (that is, what is to be enjoined) and what is wrong (that is, forbidden).

It is this ethical ideal of Islam which furnishes those basic emotions and loyalties which may gradually unify scattered individuals and groups and finally transform them into a well-

1. "This book (Qur'an), there is no doubt of it, is a guidance to those who guard against evil."

knit people called the *millat*, possessing a moral consciousness of its own. When a number of individuals profess Islam, they adhere to its principles and acquire a passion for it : they are loyal to Islam, they are loyal to their brethren-in-Islam, they are loyal to their leader-in-Islam, and firstly and lastly loyal to their Allah. These emotions and loyalties create a solidarity which is so essential to the development and organization of a corporate life. This organized life is marked by the attainment of a moral consciousness on the part of every member and an incessant striving towards the realization of the ideal.

Every organized life is marked by the existence of certain laws and institutions, and Islam also provides for these. Islamic life is lived according to Islamic laws and Islamic institutions, which in pursuance of the ethical ideal are essentially creative of social order and moral development. And this is the culture of Islam. Islam, unlike other systems, is not the name of a type of society, but it is capable of transforming the life of individuals professing the faith into a well-ordered and well-organized community of moral and material well-being. The life of Islam has a peculiar cultural force, and is dis-

tinguished by a complete organization and a unity of will and purpose in the *millat*. Thus, Muslim society achieves its remarkable homogeneity and inner unity under the pressing influence of the laws and institutions associated with the culture of Islam. The structure of Muslim society, in other words, is entirely due to the working of Islam as a culture inspired by that specific ethical ideal.

Islam postulates a universal polity founded on fundamentals or the first principles revealed to the Prophet. It was the Prophet's religious experience which created a distinct social order. It was again this social order that developed into a polity with implicit legal precepts, the civic significance of which can be determined from the fact that they were revelational. The religious ideal of Islam is organically related to the social order and the social order to the Islamic polity. It is Islam which is the main source of a Muslim's life and behaviour and which creates in him a moral consciousness and an incessant striving to attain the goal of life. Islam, as previously stated, is not a church; it is an organized life conceived as a contractual organism, long before Rousseau thought of it, and animated by an ethical ideal which regards



man as a spiritual being possessing rights and duties under a social mechanism. It is Islam that makes Muslims, saves Muslims, and lifts Muslims to a higher stage of material and moral well-being. The *millat*, which is composed of individual Muslims, is required to achieve a real collective ego in order to live, move, and have its being as a single individual.<sup>1</sup>

The Islamic state is the state of Almighty God. The sovereignty of Allah extends over the entire universe, the whole of humanity, and all organization. The secular states are limited to a definite territory, particular people, a separate government and territorial unity. All the universe, heaven and earth, the visible and invisible, animate and inanimate objects are all under the sovereignty of One God. He is the Lord of all peoples, believers or unbelievers, Muslims or non-Muslims. The entire organization of nature, heaven, and earth is under His command, and He is the real sovereign, Omnipresent and Omnipotent.<sup>2</sup> From the unity of

1. "Hold fast to yourself; no one who erreth can hurt you provided you are well-guided.

"And hold fast by the covenant of Allah all together, and be not disunited, and remember the favour of Allah on you, when you were enemies, then He united your hearts, so by His favour you became brethren." Qur'ān, 4 : 11.

2. "Vision comprehends Him not, and He comprehends all." Qur'ān, 6 : 104.



God, there springs the doctrine of the unity of the human race. All men are alike. Man is freed from the slavery of man. One God has its parallel in one humanity.<sup>1</sup> Allah is the Lord,<sup>2</sup> the Sustainer and the Nourisher of all the peoples,<sup>3</sup> and all the worlds.<sup>4</sup>

What is the position of the Muslims in the state of God? They are called the best people, created to act as His *Khalifa* on earth. They are the leaders of the rest of humanity. They have for their guidance the most perfect, chosen, and favoured religion—Islam,<sup>5</sup> the most perfect revelation, best guide, last word, verifier and guardian of previous scriptures—the Qur'ān; and the last Prophet and exemplar—Muḥammad (may Allah's peace be on him!). The Muslim *millat* is, therefore, a politico-religious unity. God has sent many messengers and prophets to reform the corrupt condition of the world. Every messenger of God was deputed on earth to establish an ethical ideal and a way of life

1. "Nothing is like a likeness of Him." Qur'ān, 42 : 11.

2. "And people are but a single nation." Qur'ān, 10 : 19.

3. "And our God and your God is one." Qur'ān, 29 : 46.

4. "The God of the Qur'ān is the Lord of all the Worlds—*Rabb-ul-'Ālamin.*" Qur'ān, 1 : 1.

5. "This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion." Qur'ān, 5 : 3.

based on that ideal. It has, therefore, been the mission of every messenger to create a system of life which had its origin in the sovereignty of God and a submission to His authority on the part of His people.<sup>1</sup> The prophet of Islam is the last and his *ummat* is the best people and leader of the rest.<sup>2</sup> The Qur'ān revealed that the messengers said to their people: "He (God) is your *Rabb* (benefactor) and your *Ilah* (overlord) Who is the Creator of you and the universe. Do not recognize any one as your Lord except Him." The messengers came to free humanity from the godhood of man.

The state of God exists for the perfection of the world order, and for the raising of humanity to a higher, nobler, and spiritual life—a continuation of this life to the life in the next world. The Muslims, being the best *millat* and guide, are directed to strive hard to achieve this ethical ideal for which Islam stands. The means to this end is the establishment of a Muslim state which is to be run according to its own distinct law—the will of the sovereign. The *Sharī'at*, a code

1. The Prophet of Islam once declared: "I have brought a message (not to any one people) but to all from Allah."

2. "You are the best group of people raised up for (the benefit of) humanity: you enjoin what is right and forbid the wrong and believe in Allah." Qur'ān, 3: 12.

of ethical and religious laws, manifests the will of Allah, and forms the law of the Muslim state. Allah is not only the Creator and an object of worship but He is also the Law-giver.

The Muslim state being extraordinarily God-conscious is permeated by a religious control which extends to every sphere of human conduct. Allah is everywhere, and a Muslim is never permitted to lose sight of his faith. No one can aspire to attain godhood and like the Pharaoh of Egypt declare to his people: "I am your *Rabb* (Lord)." Nor can he associate with God any other as lord.<sup>1</sup> The origin of all mischief is to impose the godhood of man upon man. The original doctrine was soon mixed up with polytheism, to which the Qur'ān refers in these words: "Corruption has appeared in land and sea."<sup>2</sup> Greatest stress is, therefore, laid on the unity of the Divine Being. Allah is the real owner of sovereignty. He bestows power on whom He likes and deprives others of it. "Say, O God, Owner of sovereignty, Thou givest power unto whom Thou wilt and Thou withdrawest power from whom Thou pleasest."<sup>3</sup> No individual, no

1. "We shall not serve any but Allah and we shall not associate aught with Him and some of us shall not take others for lords besides Allah." Qur'ān, 3: 63.

2. Qur'ān, 30: 41.

3. Qur'ān, 3: 3.



*amīr* and not the whole *millat*, can lay claim to the sovereignty of the state: their status is that of subjects under the sovereignty of God. This doctrine of Divine Unity carries with it a principle of action and forms the basis of the advancement of humanity. It is not only the conviction of the truth but the acceptance of a proposition as a basis for action. Those who "believe and do good" means that no belief is acceptable unless it is carried into practice by performing the duties enjoined by Allah.<sup>1</sup>

The idea of sovereignty in Islam is one of the most prominent factors of Islamic political theory. According to Muslim theology, the Muslim brotherhood is granted political authority,<sup>2</sup> under the Paramountcy of God, to confer supreme power upon any bona fide Muslim. The executive is, thus, instituted according to the general will of the *millat*, which retains its right to abolish it. The Muslim *millat* may elect the best person from among them as their *amīr*, the one who is most virtuous and God-fearing, and entrust to him full powers to discharge the

1. "O you who believe! be careful of your duty to God and believe in His Apostle." Qur'ān. 57: 28.

2. "And certainly We have given you (mankind) power in the earth, and created in it means of livelihood for you." Qur'ān, 9: 1.



functions of government. So long as he functions in accordance with the provisions of the Divine Law, he is entitled to the allegiance of the *millat*, and it is the duty of the *millat* to pay due homage to him.<sup>1</sup> The moment the *amīr* deviates from the path, he is to be deposed by the *millat*.<sup>2</sup> The *amīr* is not above the law and is, therefore, subject to public criticism. The *amīr* and the *millat* are fastened together by means of *bai'at*, which literally means contract or submission. Islam is not a church, but an organized life conceived as a contractual organism. The *bai'at* signifies an offer of fidelity and allegiance on the part of the subjects and its acceptance by the *amīr*. The bond of Muslim organization, therefore, rests on an implied contract or consent, without which none has any right to exercise an authority. Thus, the political authority in Islam depends upon the will of the Muslim brotherhood, which is free from any restriction of caste, creed, race, or colour, and which holds that "all believers are equal in the sight of God."

1. "The best rulers are those who keep you (the ruled) as friends and the worst rulers are those with whom you are in disagreement, and who do not agree with you." *Muslim*.

2. "And do not follow him whose heart We have made unmindful to Our remembrance, and he follows his low desires and his case is one in which due bounds are exceeded." *Qur'ān*, 18 : 4.

The *Shari'at*, the path of virtue or the Divine Code of ethical and social laws, is supreme; and, politically, the *amir*, the *caliph*, and even the Prophet<sup>1</sup>—being members of the Muslim *millat* and subject to the same laws—were never regarded as immune or absolute. The first principle of Islamic polity is that the *amir* and the *millat* are both deprived of the power of making legislation in order to preserve their liberty, which is ensured by the Divine Law. This power is reserved to the sovereign. God alone is sovereign and the Law-giver. The command of the sovereign is law. The apostles and the *amir* are both subject to God's commands:<sup>2</sup> they can neither make laws nor modify or change the law of God. The *millat* is to submit to the apostle and the *amir* because they proclaim and enforce the Divine Commandments as His agents or deputies.<sup>3</sup> The *amir* of the *millat* has thus delegated and not original powers. All Muslims have a claim to *Khilāfat* and every Muslim, in the real sense of the term, is a *Khalīfa* of God on earth

1. "Most certainly We will question those unto whom (Our message) has been sent, and verily We shall question the Apostles." Qur'ān, 8:1.

2. "I only follow the command, which emanates from God above." Qur'ān, 6:50.

3. "Allah has promised to those of you who believe and do good that He will appoint them as His vicegerents on earth as He had appointed others before them." Qur'ān, 24:7.

and is personally responsible to him. Consequently, all Muslims have equal status and enjoy equal rights in the body-politic. The Prophet declared: "The Arab has no superiority over a non-Arab. The best among you is the one who is most virtuous." This sort of civil liberty and the theory of equal opportunities dependent upon it is the peculiar feature of Islamic politics. It is the responsibility of the *millat* and the *amir* to establish the Rule of God according to the Book of God and the traditions of the Prophet. Thus, the supremacy of the Divine Law is one of the fundamental tenets of Islamic polity, and the *amir* as well as the members of the *millat* have to submit to the *Shari'at* for their guidance, considering it as the will and command of Allah. It is clear from the above that the Islamic system of government is not democracy of the Western type, where a law may be enforced, changed, or modified at the will of the majority. In Islam, it is the Rule of God and it is the Law of God that prevails.

The Muslim law imposes upon the individual the duty of obedience to Islam.<sup>1</sup> "Obey

1. The Prophet said : "One who obeyed me obeyed God ; one who obeyed the *imām* obeyed me. One who proved faithless to me is faithless unto God and one who was disobedient to the *imām* was disobedient to me." *Ṣaḥīḥain*.



God, the Apostle, and those in authority from among you,"<sup>1</sup> and in case of difference of opinion, turn back to Allah and His Apostle<sup>2</sup>—the basic principle of the faith. The one-sided emphasis on the part of the *amīr* would be meaningless. It has therefore been explicitly provided that the person in authority is held accountable and responsible to God alone for the welfare of the subjects.<sup>3</sup> For administrative purposes the *amīr* is made the head of the state; he is, on the one hand, responsible to God and on the other to the Muslims, who delegated their *Khilāfat* to him and whose trustee he is. The interests of the state are prior to the interests of the individual,<sup>4</sup> and it is the duty of the *amīr* not to betray his trust.<sup>5</sup>

1. Qur'ān, 45 : 58.

2. The Apostle is ordered thus, "Go on inviting . . . and say I believe in what Allah has revealed of the Book, and I am commanded to do justice between you; Allah is our Lord and your Lord; we shall have our deeds, and you shall have your deeds; no plea need there be between us and you. Allah will gather us together and to Him is the return." Qur'ān, 42 : 15.

3. واعلموا انما اموالكم و اولادكم فتنه و ان الله عنده اجر عظيم  
Qur'ān, 8 : 28

4. يا ايها الذين آمنوا لا تنخونوا الله والرسول و تنخونوا  
امانتكم و انتم تعلمون Qur'ān, 8 : 27

5. Qur'ān, 5 : 48 و لو شاء الله لجعلكم أمّة واحدة

Qur'ān, 38 : 26 اذا جعلناك خليفة فى الارض

Qur'ān, 2 : 124 قال انى جاءك للناس اماما



The Muslim *millat* is a politico-religious unity. The Islamic conception of political unity is not based on any geographical consideration. Islamic polity has borrowed the terms *ummat* and *millat* as also *Khalifa* and *imām* from the Qur'ān. It goes without saying that Islam makes no distinction on account of place, birth, or lineage, but teaches a practical brotherhood unparalleled in the history of mankind. The Holy Qur'ān says, "The believers are nothing else but brothers."<sup>1</sup> Islam lays down a basis of a vast brotherhood, in which all men and women, of whatever tribe or nation, have equal rights as if members of the same family. The slave is to be clothed with the clothing and fed with the food of his master, and is not to be treated harshly. "Your wives," says the Qur'ān, "have rights against you as you have rights against them."<sup>2</sup> Islam is a complete social structure and embodies in itself the essentials of family life, social laws, and rules for the preservation of human culture and civilization.

The *amīr* is to conduct the affairs of the state in consultation with counsellors according to the injunctions of the Qur'ān. "And consult

1. Qur'ān, 49 : 10.

2. Ibid.

with them upon the conduct of affairs; and when thou art resolved, then put thy trust in God.”<sup>1</sup> The political ideal of Islam is to make human beings capable of acting together in the service of God as well as of one another, and to build up institutions by consent and consultation so as to encourage right conduct and justice. The *amīr* will carry on the administrative work with the help of a *Majlis-i-Shūrā* (consultative body). This body must in any case, whether selected or elected, enjoy the confidence of the *millat*. The *amīr* is not bound to accept their advice, if he thinks their view is contrary to the Divine Law. There cannot be any party-system—no question of majority or minority in the *majlis*. The *amīr* of the *millat* becomes in actual practice the servant of the *millat* and his office carries with it great responsibilities.

“So that it (wealth) may not circulate (only) among the rich,” is the keynote of the Islamic policy regarding material wealth. Hence the distribution of wealth among all classes has been emphasized by the institution of a property-tax

1. Qur’ān, 3 : 159.

(*Zakāt*),<sup>1</sup> restrictions on the process of testamentary disposition, laws of inheritance, and the prohibition of usury.

The constitution of the Islamic state is written and rigid. It cannot be amended or modified. It is fixed for all times and can be adapted to all conditions of life. The question arises: what is the purpose of such a constitution? The answer is, to establish the Rule of God with a view to maintaining social justice according to the Law of God.<sup>2</sup> The aim of the Muslim state is to eradicate evil and to perpetuate virtue in accordance with a specific ethical ideal, as laid down in the Qur'ān and as revealed to the Prophet. Only such people can work the Islamic state as firmly believe in and act upon this specific ideology, and no part of humanity is debarred from accepting this ideology. Those who do not conform to it cannot as a rule share in the political authority of the state, but they are entitled to the enjoyment of all civil rights such as the protection of their persons, their

1. "And give away wealth out of love for Him to the near kin, the orphan, and the needy, wayfarer and the beggar, captives and keep up prayers and pay Zakāt." Qur'ān, 2 : 177.

2. "We deputed our Messengers with definite instructions, gave them the Book and a Standard so that people might live to justice, and We gave them steel which carries with it great power and benefits." Qur'ān, 57 : 25.

property, and their places of worship.

Another distinguishing feature of Islamic polity is a complete separation of powers. It is God Who has made law for humanity. It is the *amīr* as the head of Government and his subordinate officials who form the chief executive to enforce that law. The judiciary is entirely independent of the executive, and is to be controlled neither by the *amīr* nor by the *millat*. There is equality of law in Islam, and the *amīr* like other individuals is subject to the same law and to the same judicial authorities—the *Qādis*, who have to apply the Law of the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* of the Prophet to specific cases.<sup>1</sup>

The secular states of to-day are torn between socialism and individualism, dictatorship and democracy, idealism and anarchism. The Islamic state neither believes in class-war nor undertakes a complete socialization or democratic management of the basic instruments of production and distribution. There is no struggle between the 'haves' and 'have-nots, in an Islamic state, which stands for a compromise between capitalism and labour. Islam believes in a limited capitalism ;

1. The Prophet asked the governor of Yaman how he would decide cases. "By the Book of God," was the reply. "But if you do not find it in the Book of God?" asked the Prophet. "By the *Sunnah* of the Apostle of God," said the governor.



no person can hoard money to an unlimited extent and thus deprive others. The wealth of the *millat* is in constant circulation. The individual in the Islamic state can acquire private property so that his incentive may not be lost, but at the same time he is bound to dispose of a portion of it according to the law of the Qur'ān so that his other brethren may be benefited by it. If this principle is adopted, nobody can remain needy in an Islamic state.

The Islamic state, unlike the Communist state, does not take away "from each according to his capacity," nor does it distribute "to each according to his need." Again, it does not, like individualism, believe in the "minimum possible state-action and maximum possible individual freedom." According to the Islamic policy, the state, the *amīr*, and the *millat* are all animated by an ethical ideal, and it is the duty of everyone connected with the state to achieve that ideal. Why should the power of the state be curtailed and the individual prosper at the expense of the state?

There is no dictatorship in Islam—not the rule of one person or one will but the Rule of God and the Will of God. Under such a system

neither is the personal liberty of the individual lost nor is the political power concentrated in the hands of one person.

Islam is not a democracy—a government “of” the people, “for” the people and “by” the people. It is the Rule of God, for the prefecion of humanity and by the deputies of God.

The Islamic state is not marked by a controversy between the state and the individual, so that it may believe in the idealistic principle that the state is nothing but the individuals themselves in another capacity. Nor does Islam believe that human beings have reached that stage where they do not require any state or government, or that they can only tolerate a free government.

THE END

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